7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

241 311 the hollow of the rock the vegetable mould; then hedges round with stones his wells of cunning fertility to conceal and increase them. From below you gaze upwards at barrenness: from above you look down on an arabesque of verdure: the rosy hues of the fresh turned furrows, the soft green of sprouting crops, nestling within the puckerings, grey and brown, of layers of limestone cast up on end, the faces of which are worn like glaciers. This is their arable land in the central range. (Urquhart, 1860, Vol. I, p. 1.)

3. One gets the vivid impression that the farmer of Bishmizzeen has lost heart and has lost faith in farming. He is looking somewhere else for a possible solution of his problem, which is now the problem of his growing children—employment outside the village, engaging in business, or emigration. (Tannous, 1941, p. 662.)

461 554 434 6. Nowadays young men, especially Maronites and other Christians, many of whom are educated, are unwilling to work on the land. They prefer jobs in the towns, and failing that many of them would rather live with their families, unemployed and aimless. So, too, the women of the more sophisticated villages no longer work long hours in the fields. A great part of the income of the Lebanese villages is currently derived from sources other than farming—from earnings in the towns, for example, or emigrants' remittances, or the renting of houses to visitors in the mountain summer resorts. (Lewis, 1953, p. 7.)

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The Law of 1928 provides that any community of fifty persons or more should have an elected mukhtar and council. In villages of 50–500 persons, the council has two members; 500–1000, four members; 1500–2500, six members (Rüsher, 1932, p. 28). Since World War II, Munşif's council was increased from two to four members. The present incumbents are from lineages A.VI; A.VIII; A.X; and C.XV.

The mayor presides at meetings of the council with which he is supposed to deliberate on all organizational and administrative matters. Council members countersign deeds of sale, identity cards, and bills of assessment. The mayor is responsible for the finances and general health of the village. He is responsible to the central government, or district government, for maintenance of the peace and for the collection of taxes. He is empowered to serve summonses. Mayor and council serve without salary (Rüsher, 1932, pp. 29–31). During the period of study, the mayor in his official capacity was in daily evidence since he accompanied the surveyor who was making a cadastral survey of all land-holdings in the village. The surveyor measured and recorded boundaries, and the mayor confirmed them after consultation with the parties concerned.

Otherwise, it was quite evident that the village government machinery has little cause to be active most of the time. There is no village constable, and the government gendarmerie do not regularly patrol it. If some criminal act were committed in the village, the mayor would be expected by the government to call in the police. However, as one man said, "We are very peaceful here, not like some villages. The judges say that if all villages were like Munşif, they would have no work."

THE USE OF TITLES

The priest is addressed and referred to as *khuuri* (priest) by everyone including his family, though his children occasionally address him as *baaba* (daddy). *Abuuna* (our father), usually *buuna*, is also very frequently used in addressing the priest. The feminine form of *khuuri*, *khuuriyyah*, is similarly used in reference and address to the priest's wife. The priest and his wife refer to and address each other in public by their titles.

The mayor is always referred to and addressed as *mukhtar*, at least by persons outside his immediate family, and his wife is sometimes called *mukhtarah*.

The retired physician was called *al-duktuur* or Duktuur Mukhail. Here again, his wife was often called *duktuurah*. "Duktuur" is of course borrowed from Indo-European and as a general thing it is preferred to *ḥakiim* (the traditional equivalent of "physician") which is never used in address, anyway, and is only used nowadays in oblique references to doctors. For example, once when the priest was called out on duty in the evening he remarked humorously, "Al-khuuri mitl ḥakiim." ("The priest is like a doctor.")

9: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 MX: Lebanon MX:

554 The term *ma'alim* (teacher) is applied to the schoolteachers, usually immediately followed by the individual's name, whether in reference or in address. It was observed, however, that the title was often omitted in cases where the teacher was being addressed by an older man.

554 These titles symbolize the respect which is due certain statuses, and the criteria 576 for respect are vested authority and learning. The only other point which needs to 582 be made about them is the fact that they are extended to the wives of the men who hold the statuses to which they pertain. Of the three, *Abouriyyeh* appears to be the one which is taken the most seriously and used the most consistently. The status is very old, of course, whereas *mukhtarah* and *shaikhah* are new, and the use of *ma'alim* is greatly extended compared to the old days. No other titles are used in the village.

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SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

RITES OF PASSAGE

BIRTHDAYS AND BAPTISM

In the traditional culture of the Middle East (nation, village, or casteal), the status of midwife is a very important one. Midwives are invariably local women past menopause, and men are rigidly excluded from the house while the birth is taking place (cf. Granquist, 1947, pp. 36-40).

Only one villager was born during the period of study, and the event took place in Beirut (the family is in the foreign Resident category) some time before the writer learned of it. The majority of Mtuqil's housewives of childbearing age [illegible] services of physicians and hospitals in important medical matters.

Once born, the modern village infant, judging from the very few cases observed, spends his time in a crib and is not swaddled restrictively. After the first few weeks, he may be fed from a modern nursing bottle. Factory-made toys are not very common in Lebanon, but small cars and trucks and at least one tricycle were observed in the village.

Birthday anniversaries are celebrated in a few families. There is a cake with candles, and the whole affair is new, probably inspired by experiences in American boarding schools.

Baptism is performed anywhere from forty days to about two years after the birth of the child. It appeared that the mode tended toward the latter age. The ritual is accompanied by at least a family party, but in some cases, according to one informant, the baptismal party may approach a wedding party in size.

ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE

Engagement. Engagement (*khaṭbi*) is a more or less formal status. Quite often the couple simply declare themselves engaged, with the tacit approval of the priest. If both parties are members of the village, the priest's only official concern is that they are more distantly related than first cousins. If they are first cousins, it is his duty to inform them that he will be unable to marry them. In any case, the couple may or may not come to the priest for his blessing. Wedding rings (plain gold bands) are worn by both parties on the right hand to signify engagement. At the marriage ceremony, they are transferred to the left. Engaged couples may see each other alone at any time, and no questions are asked. Young

what would be expected on the basis of chance alone in view of the following facts: (1) Individuals who choose spouses from inside the village, have a fifty-fifty choice, either to marry inside their maximal lineage or outside it. (2) By village marriage rules, this choice is entirely free.

The deviations from this overall pattern in the figures for the marriage patterns of the individual maximal lineages are, in all probability, due to the differences in gross size of the maximal lineages. "A" includes forty-eight per cent of the total population of the village. For "A" men, therefore, about half of the available women are also from "A" in the first place, in addition to the fact that there is a fifty-fifty chance of their choosing from "A." "B" is overwhelmingly exogamous, both in regard to its men and its women. "B" has only six per cent of the total population of the village, divided among six households. Marriage within any one household would be virtually impossible because of incest regulations, and although it happens that members of any one of the households *could*, theoretically, marry into any of the others, there is no instance of it. (The one case of an intra-"B" marriage was between a man of XII and a "deceased" lineage.) Like "A" and "C," "B" people have a theoretical fifty-fifty choice between "B" and "non-B," but because of the small size of "B" its men and women are really forced to take from and marry into the other two maximal lineages. "C" has thirty-five per cent of the total population, and, as might be expected, its marriage patterns [illegible] approximate an intermediate position to "A," "C" men show a moderately strong tendency to take their wives from the other two maximal lineages, but this tendency is not nearly so strong as it is in "B." In regard to its women, however, about the same situation obtains in "C" as in "A," that is, slightly under half of the women are taken by men from other lineages.

To summarize: "A" men tend to take wives from "A" because "A" is so large. "B" and "C" men tend to take their wives from "A" for the same reason. An actual count confirms this generalization. "B" men have taken eight from "A" and one from "C." "C" men have taken fourteen from "A" and three from "B."

One informant was conscious of these tendencies and was of the opinion that in the past, more than fifty years ago at least, they were more pronounced than they are now. This was explained by saying, in effect that "B" and "C" wanted to marry "A" because "A" was more distinguished. "And how did 'A' feel about it?" "Oh, some did not care, but some others minded a great deal." And a story was related of a person in the past with whom the family refused to have anything more to do after the person's marriage to a member of another maximal lineage than "A." No further examples could, however, be adduced. The informant also remarked emphatically that the conduct of the family had been shameful, and that it would never happen in the present day.

For some time, the writer seriously considered the hypothesis that until recently "A" was specifically endogamous, and that "B" and "C" were mutually exogamous, but necessarily endogamous with regard to "A." The probability of

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the truth of this notion of a dichotomous social organization was seen to rest on two factors, viz: (1) The even split in population between "A" on one hand and "B" and "C" on the other. (2) The indisputable fact that there is a conceptual division of the village into an upper half (dominated by "A") and a lower half (dominated by "C"). (3) The reports of all authorities that Arab kin groups tend to be endogamous and that Arab villages tend to be split into two factions (cf. Zurayk, 1955, p. 432). (4) The apparent tendency for the present clique groups to fall into the lines laid by the supposed dichotomies. (So many exceptions to this were discovered, that this factor was discarded before the main theory was.)

On this theory, the present patterns of inter-village marriage were interpreted as a recent "breakdown" caused indirectly by acculturation. It was guessed that if the villagers felt that the integrity of the village as a unit was being seriously threatened by foreign influences, especially the lure of the city, there would be a tendency for the village as a unit to assume an even more important position *in rank* in the villagers' eyes, so much so that maximal lineage lines would be greatly weakened. The relaxing of maximal lineage, lower of moiety, endogamy rules would be consistent with this tendency toward retrenchment.

This was a tempting and plausible theory. As time went on, however, it remained impossible to support its line of reasoning with behavioral evidence. Moreover, the theory was found to run afoul of two sets of objective evidence as follows:

1. During the period in which the postulated "breakdown" of lineage marriage barriers and concomitant solidification of village unity would have occurred (c. 1900 to the present), marriages to outsiders became a definite element in village life. (Previously they had been sporadic and had consisted entirely of village men marrying Orthodox women whom they had met in other districts while doing wage-labor there. These women were eventually brought into the village and entirely assimilated.) These marriages to outsiders are, at present, well distributed among the lineages, and with only a very few exceptions those who have contracted them have been persons of solid repute and status in the village. Marriage to an outsider is not, therefore, by and large, the behavior of persons whose social status is marginal, nor does it lower the status of such individuals. Attitudes toward it range from indifference ("I'll marry whomsoever I fall in love with. If she is not from the village, it does not matter."), to mild disapproval couched in practical terms ("It is unwise, it is taking a big chance."), to moderately strong disapproval ("The children of the girls who do it will be lost to the village, and we will not be able to see them often."). As far as could be observed, however, there is no violent objection to it, and at most, only token social pressures are brought against it. It is not a social offense. Consequently, it is difficult to rationalize away the conflict between preferred village endogamy and marriage to outsiders by suggesting that the hypothesized retrenchment in village unity (represented by the development of free marriage choice within the village as a whole in place of division moiety endogamy) was a violent reaction to the behavior of social outcasts.

THE PRESENT

[178] George Haddad has recently summarized in some detail the changes which have occurred in Lebanon (and Syria) in the past half century. His emphasis is on material and institutional changes: "Syria and Lebanon have known a real revolution in transport in the last 30 years with the appearance of automobiles (3 in 1914, about 12,000 in 1945). . . . In less than half a century, the urban centers of Syria and Lebanon have changed from medieval towns to modern cities." (Haddad, 1951, pp. 140, 146.)

It is unfortunate that Haddad does not deal at all with the problems, psychological and otherwise, which these revolutionary changes have created. Implicitly, however, he recognizes that change has not directly affected all aspects of life in equal measure. "The traits for which the Syrian Arab and the oriental in general has been known: sense of honor, strict morals, cleanliness, courage, loyalty, hospitality, reverence of old age, strength of family ties, have not changed much" (*ibid.*, pp. 146-47.) Gibb has phrased the matter somewhat differently: "But in the Near East the changes have not been homogeneous; they have often followed from a violent breach in the continuity of economic and intellectual life and the interference of an external system; they have seldom and only exceptionally embraced even a majority of the population; *and therefore old and new have frequently gone on existing, and still go on existing side by side* [our italics]." (Gibb, 1945a, p. 33.) Let us see how these generalizations can be applied to Mamilla.

MATERIAL CHANGES

[179] As we observed, Westernization in clothes has been very noticeable, though not complete. In this respect, Mamilla appears to be more acculturated than the Egyptian community partially reported upon recently by Lichtenstadter (1951, p. 362), in which the people wear traditional clothes in the village and at all times except when in a wholly acculturative situation such as, for example, working in a modern office. Those Mamillia who have adopted Western clothes wear them at all times. In the younger people who are city workers, there is even a tendency to look down on those who wear all or part of the traditional costume because of its connotation of peasant status. But their tendency to reject Arab traditional and European headgear, also noted in Palestine by Patai (1947, p. 33), can be taken as a symbol of the culture conflict which they are undergoing. Also very noticeable is the Westernization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, refrigerators, flashlights, and so on.

[180] These types of material acculturation seem to have taken place under the following conditions:

1. The change does not involve extensive expense.
2. The change is clearly conducive to greater comfort and convenience.

head of the family, and her cash gave her prestige.

In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old pattern of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. Joha ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Deek look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

6. *The parent-child status relationship is broken down:* Not only did the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a corres-

p.72(B)

593 ponding shift in the parent-child
567 status relationship took place. Again,
178 confusion in behavior was the inevitable result.

In case 3 above, the young emigrant sends his mother much money; but at the same time he scolds her and orders her to tell him the truth about her financial situation.

In case 6, we see the young man still living up to the old standards by consulting his father about the girl he intends to marry. However, some twenty years later, that same young man deserted and completely neglected his parents and kinship group.

Case 7 is another illuminating illustration. The three young men are bewildered by the new status assumed by their father! They urge him to continue playing the role of the family head and master, while he insists on giving that to them, because of their financial prestige!

621 7. *Other indications of disorgani-*
178 *zation:* Case 1 shows how the cooperative background of the five or six emigrants was shattered by the elements of the new situation. Some of them were able to get tickets at the rate of five pounds a ticket, while the others had to pay seven and a half for a ticket. The latter felt betrayed by and estranged from their companions.

Case 2 shows how the emigrant became indignant over the fact that a friend at home wrote the emigrant insisting that he should pay back his debt. The emigrant cannot reconcile this attitude with his conception of village friendship.

P. 73(4)

871 In all, there are some 212 people (105 men and
177 107 women) who have had one or more years of
654 education at high schools and colleges outside the village. Of these, 66 percent have been educated by the American system, 27 percent by the native system, and 7 percent by the French system. These figures ought to indicate, in a concise and clear manner, the great extent to which American culture, behind the Protestant system of education, has been influenctial in the life of Bishmizzeen. The extent of this influence becomes still more impressive, when we remember that these educated men and women represent the "cream" of the village population and have become, in the majority of cases, the recognized leaders of the community, (remembering that 24 of them completed college and 72 completed high school). Their leadership was inspired by a foreign culture that had no ties with village life, and they led the village according to the influence of that culture.
871 Behind each educated man and woman is a story
177 of supreme effort and sacrifice on the part of his
554 family group. It meant, in many cases, that the
178 family group had to sell their land in order to provide for the higher education of their boy or girl. Taking such a drastic step was symbolic of their decision to sever their ties with the old way of living and look towards the new course taken by their children. Through their educated children, the old folk identified themselves with the new patterns of the invading American culture.

621 A strong combination of factors—the rising silk
178 industry, money as a coveted value, play acting,
871 and emigration to America, got hold of the village

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16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on al-Munsif. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in al-Munsif. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education—in both Arabic and English—became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for al-Munsif. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flood of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in al-Munsif, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

17: Tannous 3, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEl Lebanon MEl

He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

From the economic viewpoint, this type of physical structure has resulted in the development of a widespread problem of fragmented holdings. The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of landholding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land. A national plan for the consolidation of holdings, launched on a voluntary co-operative basis, thus is in order. Consolidation alone, however, would be only a temporary solution, for the prevailing system of dividing the land among the heirs and the practice of selling a small portion of a plot upon need would in time cause the fragmented holdings to reappear. Other complicating factors, some social and some religious, require that the problem be given more detailed study and analysis before a satisfactory solution can be devised.

The Lebanese farmer manifests a deep-rooted attachment to his land. It is his main source of living, and before him it supported a long line of his ancestors. It is an integral part of his being; he speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, incidents in village history, ancestors, or patron saints. By virtue of owning them and being a good farmer he is given status in the community and plays a role in its affairs. To sell out and migrate to another locality is abhorrent to him, a threat to his whole existence. When he is forced to emigrate abroad, he does so with the fervent hope that some day he will return to his village community, to the land that ties him in an organic manner to a long line of ancestors. If he is forced to mortgage or sell some of his land upon departure, his first concern is to remit money to pay